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Golaki Matha Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh: A Study of a Saiva Monastic Lineage

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The Malkāpuram Inscription of Śaka year 1183 (1261 A.D.), recording an endowment of two villages by the Kākatiya king Gaṇapatidēva and his daughter Rudramadēvi to the Śaiva teacher Viśvēśvara-śiva, is perhaps the most widely known inscription from 13th century Andhra. Since it was first published in 1930 (JAHS IV, pp. 147-162), the information contained in this record concerning the organisation of Śaiva monastic institutions and the antecedents of the Gōlaki Matha lineage has been drawn upon repeatedly by scholars investigating the development of Śaivism¹ and the history of the Kalacuri kingdom.² While interesting enough in its own right, this inscription has attracted attention largely because of the activities of the Gōlaki Matha in other areas: the modern Jabalpur region of Madhya Pradesh where it originated and the Tamil country where several branches are attested to. Thus, the spiritual genealogy of Viśvēśvara-śiva's predecessors as given in the Malkāpuram Ins. can be correlated with earlier inscriptions from the kingdom of Tripurī to yield valuable data on the relationship of this monastic group with that ruling dynasty.³ Similarly, the details of the setting up of a *matha* and an *agrahāra* provided in this record supplement our understanding of the institutional arrangements of Tamil Śaiva *mathas*, amongst which the Gōlaki school was prominent from the 11th to the 16th centuries.⁴

Little interest has been generated over the activities of the Gōlaki Matha lineage in Andhra itself, however, despite the many indications that it played an important role in the affairs of the later Kākatiya period.⁵ Perhaps one reason for this neglect is that the Gōlaki Matha flourished for a relatively short period in Andhra—the recorded span of its existence there is a mere sixty years (c. 1234-1291 A.D.). But within that period it appears to have exerted much influence, as revealed by the presence of ten inscriptions mentioning its name and by the fact that at least two of the leaders of the Andhra branch attained the position of *guru* to the Kākatiya ruler.

In this paper I will provide an account of the expansion of the Gōlaki monastic lineage in Andhra, based on a corpus of about 40 inscriptions in Telugu and Sanskrit.⁶ Only those epigraphs have been considered which contain either a direct reference to Gōlaki Matha or mention an individual known to be affiliated with the Gōlaki Matha school from some other inscription. My account may therefore err on the side of caution by omitting some individuals who were in actuality associated with Gōlaki Matha. N. Sundaresvara Rao and B.G.L. Swamy⁷ have adopted this alternative approach, that of including any person whose name ends in 'śiva', but such an assumption seems unwarranted in our present state of knowledge, or more accurately lack of knowledge, regarding the intricacies of Śaiva sectarian and institutional affiliations in this period. Indeed, there is some evidence which strongly suggests that the title 'śivācārya' was used by Śaiva teachers belonging to other sects or schools⁸ and certainly the suffix 'śiva' was not unique to the names of Gōlaki Matha adherents.⁹ Hence, care must be taken to distinguish various lineages, if any progress towards unravelling the complexities of medieval Śaivism is to be made.

The Gōlāki Maṭha has often been assigned to the Pāsupata sect in the secondary literature.¹⁰ The term Pāsupata was undoubtedly applied in a very wide sense, for strictly speaking such an attribution is not accurate. Like the Pāsupata sect, the first of the Śaivite sects to evolve, the Śaivism of the Gōlāki Maṭha was based on *āgama* literature and emphasised the role of the *guru*. And as in the case of the Kālāmukhas, who can be considered an offshoot of the Pāsupatas,¹¹ the Gōlāki Maṭha school was propagated through an extensive network of monastic institutions. In the period immediately preceding the advent of the Gōlāki Maṭha in Andhra, it was this sect of Śaivism which was most prevalent in the Karnataka and Andhra countries.¹² The Kālāmukha presence in Andhra is documented from the mid-10th century reign of Eastern Cālukya Ammarāja II¹³ up to the middle of the 12th century when a Kālāmukha teacher, Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, was patronised by the Kākatiya chiefs Bēta II, Durga Prōla II.¹⁴ Another Śaiva teacher who may have been Kālāmukha was the *guru* of the Kākatiya king Mahādēva ruling for a few years at the end of the 12th century.¹⁵

That the sectarian allegiance of the Gōlāki Maṭha was not Pāsupata is clearly indicated in the Malkāpuram Ins. itself. There are several references in that record to Śaiva, Śaiva Siddhānta and Śuddha Śaiva, one of the four sects of Śaivism (along with Pāsupata, Kālāmukha and Kāpālīka) often differentiated in medieval religious literature.¹⁶ Further support for this identification comes from the Gurgi Stone Ins. of the Kalacuri king Kōkalladēva II which calls the town Madhumatī, the home of a lineage closely associated with the Gōlāki Maṭha, "the abode of those who are versed in the Śaiva Siddhānta."¹⁷ The Kālāmukha records, in contrast, often mention Lākuliśa the famous Pāsupata teacher and his doctrine (*siddhānta* or *āgama*).¹⁸ The Śaiva (Siddhānta) sect and the Pāsupatas appear to have adopted different philosophical stances, with the former adhering to Vaiśeṣika philosophy and the latter following the Nyāya school of thought.¹⁹ As far as can be ascertained, the Śuddha Śaiva or Śaiva Siddhānta sect was more moderate than the others in its religious practices and more in line with brahmanical orthodoxy,²⁰ possibly a factor in the wide acceptance it enjoyed. While it waned elsewhere, this sect proved especially popular in the Tamil country where it gradually evolved over the centuries, largely through the medium of the Tamil language,²¹ into the school of Śaivism which goes by the name of Śaiva Siddhānta today.²²

The most striking feature of the Gōlāki Maṭha institutionally is that from its inception the teachers of this lineage were closely associated with royal benefactors. The patronage of Yuvarāja, Kalacuri king of Tripurī, was instrumental in the establishment of the original Gōlāki Maṭha in the Dahala region, according to the Malkāpuram Ins. A predecessor of Viśvēśvara-śiva allegedly received a munificent grant from this king, who can be placed in the 10th century A.D.,²³ and from that time onwards the teachers of the Gōlāki Maṭha are said to have been revered by the Kalacuris. Yuvarāja's donation, either three lakh villages in number or villages yielding three lakhs in revenue, is referred to in several inscriptions from Andhra which preface the name Gōlāki Maṭha with the phrase "*tri-lakṣa grāma*."²⁴ Four inscriptions from the Jabalpur region in the 12th century mentioning Vimāla-śiva,²⁵ the 'grandfather' of Viśvēśvara-śiva in the line of spiritual succession, corroborate the Malkāpuram Ins.'s assertion that the Gōlāki Maṭha flourished in that kingdom and inform us that Vimāla-śiva and three of his predecessors served as spiritual preceptors (*rājaguru*) to the Kalacuri kings Yaśaḥkarṇa, Gayākarṇa, Narasiṃha, Jayasiṃha and Vijayasiṃha.

The first Gōlāki Maṭha teacher whose presence in Andhra is recorded is Vimāla-śiva's disciple Dharma-śiva, who was the teacher of Viśvēśvara-śiva. Since Viśvēśvara-śiva lauds him as the one whose feet were worshipped by the lords of Tripurī,²⁶ Dharma-śiva must have spent part of his life in the Kalacuri realm. His move to Andhra was prompted no doubt by the increasing instability of the Kalacuri kingdom which was disintegrating under the incursions of the Candēllas and Yādavas during the first decades of the 13th century.²⁷ Dharma-śiva arrived in Andhra sometime before Ś. 1156 (c. 1234 A.D.) the date of his earliest record (Dākshārāma, E. Godrvari dist.: SII IV. 1056), wherein he is described as a follower of Vimāla-śiva and the *guru* of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. Thus, the Gōlāki Maṭha tradition of being royal preceptor was carried on by Dharma-śiva, albeit in new surroundings.

How Dharma-śiva was able to attain the prominent position of *guru* to the king with such apparent ease is not clear; it could be that the reputation of the Gōlāki Maṭha preceded him. At any rate, his success in gaining the favour of the Kākatiyas and their subordinates is attested to by two inscriptions—one recording the grant of a village in Kōṭagaḍḍa (Khammam dist.) to Dharma-śiva and the consecration of a *linga* there by Mailama the sister of king Gaṇapati (APRE 197 of 1905), and the other recording the establishment of two perpetual lamps for the family deity of the Kākatiyas, Svayambhudēva of Wāraṅgal (IAP-WG. 65). One lamp was donated by Dharma-śiva,²⁸ and the second by Viryāla Rudra, a staunch ally of the Kākatiyas. The fourth donation involving Dharma-śiva (SII X. 315) had the most lasting impact. Dharma-śiva built both a treasury and a *maṭha* at Tripurāntakam (Prakasam dist.) in Ś. 1169 (c. 1247 A.D.), the only buildings he had erected. In the two decades following the establishment of this branch of the Gōlāki Maṭha at Tripurāntakam, a number of endowments were made both by and to teachers of this lineage and worship of deities there.²⁹

The provenance of the inscriptions connected with Dharma-śiva is significant; that is he is associated with several of the most important religious centres in Andhra at that time—Wāraṅgal, Dākshārāma and Tripurāntakam. The Tripurāntakam record bears the last known date for Dharma-śiva; hence, the span of his activity in Andhra attested to ranges from c. 1234 A.D. to 1247 A.D. It is likely that he did not immigrate to Andhra alone, however, but rather with a group of disciples, for within ten years of Dharma-śiva's first appearance in Andhra we get a record (dated 1243 A.D.) from a second generation 'descendant'—Paripūrṇa-śiva, son (*koḍku*) of Viśvēśvara-śiva who was the disciple (*śiṣya*) of Dharma-śiva (ARIE 293 of 1936-37). Two subsequent inscriptions issued by Paripūrṇa-śiva, also from Dharma-śiva (ARIE 294 and 301 of 1936-37), indicate that he occupied a position of Bhaṭṭiprōlu in Guntur dist. (ARIE 294 and 301 of 1936-37), indicate that he occupied a position of considerable power at that temple complex since in both cases plots of land belonging to a deity were allotted by Paripūrṇa-śiva to *sānis* (dancing girls). Summing up the evidence, we can say that the Gōlāki Maṭha school was well-entrenched as an institution in at least two places in Andhra, Tripurāntakam and Bhaṭṭiprōlu, by the end of Dharma-śiva's career, c. 1247 A.D.

The apex of Gōlāki Maṭha influence in Andhra was reached during the time of Dharma-śiva's successor Viśvēśvara-śiva. The fact that his 'son' Paripūrṇa-śiva was already in Andhra in 1243 A.D. suggests that Viśvēśvara-śiva may have arrived during Dharma-śiva's tenure as head of the Andhra Gōlāki Maṭha branch. A Jiyar Viśvēśvara Śivācārya, chief preceptor at a *maṭha* in Tiruvānikkā (Trichinopoly dist.) is described as the recipient of a village in an inscription from the former Pudukottai State dated in the 24th year of Rājārāja.³⁰ He has been equated with the Viśvēśvara-śiva of the Malkāpuram Ins. and the record assigned to the reign of Rājārāja III, which would date it in 1239-40 A.D.³¹ There is no internal evidence within the inscription to support such an identification, but since the Malkāpuram Ins. does state that the Cōla and Mālava kings were disciples of Viśvēśvara-śiva the possibility that he resided for a period in Tamil-nadu prior to coming to Andhra must be admitted. Whatever may have been the case, Viśvēśvara-śiva was not a native of Andhra but hailed from Pūrva-grāma in the southern Rāḍha area of Gauḍa (Bengal), again according to the Malkāpuram Ins., by far the most informative source on this individual and his activities.

Our first direct proof of Viśvēśvara-śiva's presence in Andhra comes from a Tripurāntakam inscription with two dates, 1252 A.D. and 1253 A.D. (SII X. 340), by which time he had apparently already taken over the leadership of the Andhra Gōlāki Maṭha branch as he is called the "*śrī-Gōlgi-maṭha santāna-santānaka*" ("a celestial tree to the progeny of the Gōlāki Maṭha", i.e., he who brought about the expansion and growth of the lineage). On the evidence of Paripūrṇa-śiva's two inscriptions from 1252 A.D., we know that Viśvēśvara-śiva was concurrently acting as *guru* to Kākatiya Gaṇapati. He thus seems to have assumed both posts simultaneously, most probably upon the death of Dharma-śiva sometime between 1247 A.D. and 1252 A.D.

Viśvēśvara-śiva followed in the footsteps of his teacher in deepening the Gōlāki Maṭha involvement with the Tripurāntakam temple complex. Provisions were made for a garden, two festivals and two daily food offerings to the deity at services (*sandhyā*) named after him, in the record mentioned

above. In addition, Viśvēśvara-śiva was responsible for the clearing of a tract of forest land near the temple, upon which he set up a village and excavated a tank. The *vimāna* of what is today the central shrine at Tripurāntakam was erected two years later by a fourth member of the lineage Śānta-śiva, disciple of Viśvēśvara-śiva (SII X. 345). From this time onwards, the lineage member associated with Tripurāntakam in inscriptions is invariably Śānta-śiva. That Viśvēśvara-śiva retained the overall headship of the lineage, however, is shown by the epithet "*tri-lakṣa-grāma-Gōlaki-mahāmaṭha-sāmrājya-paṭṭa-baddha*", roughly translatable as "the bearer of the crown of the empire of the great Gōlaki Maṭha of the three lakh villages," applied to him in two of Śānta-śiva's inscriptions (AIP-CP. 142 and SII X. 400).

In the course of the decades after becoming royal preceptor, Viśvēśvara-śiva was very active in establishing branch *maṭhas* and setting up temples. The list of his accomplishments appended to the Malkāpuram Ins. includes the establishment of *maṭhas* at Elēśvaram (Nalgonda dist.), Kālēśvaram and Mantrakūṭa (both in Karimnagar dist.), besides the one established at Malkāpuram (Guntur dist.). Viśvēśvara-śiva is said to have consecrated *liṅgas* named after himself at Mantrakūṭa, Candravalli, Kommugrāma, Nivṛtti(?), and Uttara Sōmaśilā, as he did also at Malkāpuram. The veracity of the list is at least partially confirmed by inscriptions found at Kālēśvaram (ARIE 89 of 1958-59-IAP-KN. 32), Khammampalle in Karimnagar district (ARIE 94 of 1958-59-IAP-KN. 34) and Elēśvaram (ARIE 145 of 1954-55) issued by Viśvēśvara-śiva. From the Kālēśvaram inscription,³² we learn that a deity was consecrated there named Vimalēśvara, after Viśvēśvara-śiva's teacher's teacher Vimala-śiva, the *rājaguru* to Kalacuri kings Jayasimha and Vijayasimha. Added to the six *liṅgas* allegedly consecrated in his own name, we arrive at a total of at least seven temples erected by Viśvēśvara-śiva. One more temple, explicitly said to house a *liṅga* named after Gaṇapati's Rājaguru Viśvēśvara-śiva, was built by a Kākatiya subordinate at Siddhēśvaram in Kurnool district (ARIE 40 of 1942-43). All this construction occurred in the period between 1252 A.D. and the end of Gaṇapati's reign, c. 1262 A.D.³³

The prestige of the Gōlaki Maṭha and Viśvēśvara-śiva's position as *rājaguru* must have been responsible for his being widely revered as a worthy recipient for gifts; only that would explain how he amassed sufficient resources to embark on the building activities just referred to. Most of these *maṭhas* and temples were endowed with villages, justifying Viśvēśvara-śiva's statement that he was renowned for donating Śivapuris.³⁴

His fame lived on in the memory of the people and was preserved in two traditional Telugu accounts of the Kākatiya dynasty—the *Siddhēśvara-caritramu* and the *Pratāparudra-caritramu*.³⁵ In these he appears as Śiva-dēvayya, *guru* to the Kākatiya rulers Gaṇapati, Rūdramadēvi and Pratāparudra. As the foremost minister, his advice was constantly sought, but in reality, the accounts tell us, he was a god in human form.³⁶ Upon the fall of the Kākatiya dynasty, this Śiva-dēvayya set off in the direction of the sacred mountain Śrīśailam and was heard of no more. The recollection, in tradition, of several *gurus* of the Gōlaki Maṭha was here amalgamated into the figure of this one individual. Viśvēśvara-śivadēśika is mentioned in the *Velupōṭivāri-vamśacaritra*, a late chronicle of a Velama Redḍi branch, as a minister of the queen Rudrama, according to V. Yasoda Devi.³⁷

Although Viśvēśvara-śiva's last attested date is 1262 A.D. (SII X. 399), it is likely that he remained alive even after this, for the inscriptions of Śānta-śiva continue to speak of him as the subordinate of the Rājaguru (*śrīmad-rājaguru-carana-sarasīruha-bhūṣita-mastaka*). A second phrase occurs in the standard description of Śānta-śiva (*śrī-Tripurāntakadēva-divya-śrīpāda-padm-ārādhakul-aina*), revealing that his favourite deity was the Śiva at Tripurāntakam. As previously mentioned, a *vimāna* was built for that temple by Śānta-śiva in 1254 A.D. That same year two inscriptions from Darsi taluk in the present Prakasam district (NDI Darsi 25 and 28) recording the gift of a village as *dakṣiṇā* to Śānta-śiva for setting up a deity at Tripurāntakam.³⁸ Another undated inscription from Darsi (NDI Darsi 74) grants a village to the deity Gaṅgēśvara of Tripurāntakam in care of Śānta-śiva. One last epigraph mentions him in connection with Tripurāntakam (SII X. 400), where a plot of land given is stated to be adjacent

to a tank he excavated. It seems likely, therefore, that this disciple of Viśvēśvara-śiva, who rivalled him in the number of endowments received, was the supreme authority in charge at that temple complex between 1254 A.D. and his last known date c. 1267 A.D. when a minor chief granted another village to him (APRE 273 of 1966³⁹-ARIE 26 of 1970).

Only one other fact of importance relating to Śānta-śiva emerges from the epigraphical data. In addition to (probably) being the head of a Gōlaki branch *maṭha* at Tripurāntakam, Śānta-śiva was the head of a *maṭha* at Śrīśailam called the Abhinava Gōlaki Maṭha. Two of the inscriptions which contain this information (IAP-CP. 140 and 142) were issued by the powerful Kāyastha subordinate of the Kākatiyas, Jannigadēva. He gave two villages in Cuddapah district to Śānta-śiva in order to provide for those who came to learn at the *vidyā-maṇḍapa* attached to a *sivaliṅga* (=Śaiva) *maṭha*.⁴⁰ More land grants by Jannigadēva to Śānta-śiva for the same purpose are almost certainly recorded in two other inscriptions which are heavily damaged—one from Medikurti, Chittoor (ARIE 4 of 1955-56)⁴¹ and the other from Alugurājupalle in Guntur district (ARIE 289 of 1930-31).⁴² These inscriptions reveal the emphasis placed on the imparting of instruction, the central function of a *maṭha*. At Malkāpuram the topics taught ranged from the Vēdas and the Śaiva *āgamas* to secular subjects such as logic and literature. All the needs of the students, as well as those of occasional visitors to these institutes, were provided for by the *maṭha* staff, which included cooks, water carriers, gardeners and guards among others.⁴³ Besides *vidya-maṇḍapas*, the *maṭhas* also operated *satras* where food was given to all residents of the holy centres and to pilgrims.⁴⁴

Where was the Śaiva *maṭha* endowed by Jannigadēva? Since these same inscriptions refer to Śānta-śiva in connection with the Abhinava Gōlaki Maṭha at Śrīparvata (=Śrīśailam), we can guess that the *vidyā-maṇḍapa* under discussion was attached to this *maṭha*.⁴⁵ The other possibility is that the *maṭha* was located at Tripurāntakam. The Gōlaki Maṭha branch institution at Tripurāntakam started by Dharma-śiva c. 1247 A.D. bears no name but an undated epigraph from the temple there records a number of subsistence endowments (*vrittis*) to the staff of the Śuddha Śaiva *maṭha*, (SII X. 388). Since the *maṭha* set up by Viśvēśvara-śiva at Malkāpuram is also called a Śuddha Śaiva *maṭha*, this Tripurāntakam inscription can indisputably be attributed to a branch of the Gōlaki Maṭha. In summary, there were no less than six branch institutions in Andhra of the original Gōlaki Maṭha—at Tripurāntakam, Śrīśailam, Malkāpuram, Elēśvaram, Kālēśvaram and Mantrakūṭa.⁴⁶

The fate of the *maṭhas* at Śrīśailam and Tripurāntakam, subsequent to Śānta-śiva's tenure as pontiff, is not known. It has been suggested that the Tryambaka-śiva, and Candrabhūṣa-śiva who appear in later records from Tripurāntakam⁴⁷ were associated with the Gōlaki Maṭha lineage.⁴⁸ While this may very well be true, in view of the intense Gōlaki Maṭha activity there earlier, it can only remain conjectural in the absence of any data on the sectarian, institutional and teacher-student affiliations of these individuals.

The situation at Śrīśailam is even less clear due to the fact that there are no inscriptions from that site earlier than 1312 A.D. From inscriptions found elsewhere we know of the existence at Śrīśailam of an Abhinava Gōlaki *maṭha* by 1260 A.D., a Bhṛṅgi *maṭha* established by Kākatiya king Gaṇapati c. 1249 A.D.,⁴⁹ the Kālāmukha Śilā *maṭha* (1090 A.D.) which was probably also called Kallu *maṭha*⁵⁰ and an Arusa *maṭha*, also called Arsi and Arasa (1265 A.D.).⁵¹ At Śrīśailam itself, inscriptions from 1312 A.D., 1313 A.D. and 1315 A.D. mention the Kallu *maṭha*, the Arasa *maṭha*, and the Gana *maṭha*.⁵² Of these three *maṭhas*, the Arasa appears to have been the most important and a long list of villages, presumably under its control, is given in SII X. 504, none of which are identical with any village known to have been granted to a Gōlaki Maṭha lineage member. Furthermore, the Arusa *maṭha* is first mentioned in an inscription of 1265 A.D., at around the same time we find the Abhinava Gōlaki Maṭha headed by Śānta-śiva referred to elsewhere. The evidence, therefore, contradicts any supposed association of the Arasa *maṭha* and its pontiff Īśvara-śiva, cited in the record of 1313 A.D., with the Gōlaki Maṭha, as thought by some scholars.

Even while Viśvēśvara-śiva was still the head of the lineage, however, we get records of two other members, Sadā-śiva and Vidyā-śiva. Sadā-śiva, is mentioned as the *sthānapati* of a temple in Kambhampāḍu, Guntur district, in an inscription from 1258 A.D. (ARIE 301 of 1930-31). Sometime during the reign of Kākatīya Gaṇapati, a Pōcirāju who was associated with Vidyā-śiva, *sthānapati* of Saṅgamēśvara and Bhāskara-kshetra, made a gift to a newly established deity named after Viśvēśvara-śiva (ARIE 40 of 1942-43). This tenuous link of Vidyā-śiva's with the Gōḷaki Maṭha (that is, his patronage of a *linga* named after the head of the Andhra branch) is strengthened by two later inscriptions from Malkāpuram. In SII X. 396 a Kāśīśvara-śiva granted *vrittis* to dancing girls, artisans and masons at the Viśvanātha temple established before by Viśvēśvara-śiva, on the orders of the Rācaguru. The identity of this Rācaguru is unveiled in SII X. 454 of 1282 A.D. where he is stated to be Vidyā-śiva, the father of Kāśīśvara-śiva. Because Malkāpuram is known to be a Gōḷaki Maṭha centre and since Kāśīśvara-śiva was a prominent person there,⁵³ Vidyā-śiva can be regarded as a member of the lineage, along with his son Kāśīśvara-śiva. The use of the title 'Rācaguru' suggests that Vidyā-śiva may have risen from the relatively minor post of *sthānapati* of Saṅgamēśvara during Gaṇapati's reign to the far more elevated position of *guru* to the Kākatīya ruler by 1282 A.D.

At about the same time that Kāśīśvara-śiva was heading the Malkāpuram centre, Uttama-śiva had an inscription inscribed at Bhaṭṭiprōlu which identifies him as the son of the Rācaguru (ARIE 307 of 1936-37), possibly Viśvēśvara-śiva. A second inscription of Uttama-śiva's from Tāḍikalpūṇḍi in West Godavari district (SII V. 199) dated c. 1275 A.D. states unequivocally that he was a Gōḷaki *sthānapati*. He may have been the *sthānapati* at Bhaṭṭiprōlu, where Gōḷaki Maṭha member Paripūrṇa-śiva issued inscriptions several decades earlier, rather than at Tāḍikalpūṇḍi itself. Uttama-śiva's son Siddha-śiva was granted villages by Kāyastha Ambadēva in an inscription from Rajampeta, Cuddapah district (IAP-CP. 146).

While the grounds for attributing Gōḷaki Maṭha affiliation to the individuals just mentioned are strong, the same can not be said in the case of the remaining two persons. Five records of a Sarvēśvarayya are found in Nandikotkur taluk, Kurnool district, dated between Ś. 1208 (c. 1286 A.D.) and 1291 A.D. (ARIE 320-323 of 1937-38 and 22 of 1942-43). He was apparently *guru* to the Ceṇaku chiefs of that area and with their patronage established two temples and a *maṭha* at Malyāla (Kurnool dist.), as well as a *satra* at Alampur (Mahbubnagar dist.). These institutions were entrusted to a Mahādēva, the son of Sarvēśvara's elder brother (*anna*) Sadā-śiva. This could be the same Sadā-śiva, son of Śānta-śiva, mentioned in ARIE 301 of 1930-31. The fact that neither his nor his nephew's name ends with the typical Gōḷaki Maṭha suffix of 'śiva', however, argues against the attribution of Sarvēśvarayya to the Gōḷaki Maṭha lineage.

A notable feature shared by several of the later Gōḷaki Maṭha members is that they held positions as *sthānapatis* over separated temples. Sadā-śiva at Kambhampāḍu, Vidyā-śiva at Saṅgamēśvara and Uttama-śiva (probably at Bhaṭṭiprōlu) are all stated explicitly to have been *sthānapatis*. Mahādēva, if he can be included, was *sthānapati* at Malyāla and judging from Kāśīśvara-śiva's authority to distribute temple lands as *vrittis* to temple employees, he was *sthānapati* of the Viśvanātha temple at Malkāpuram. Among these men, only Mahādēva is associated with a *maṭha* in any way. A situation is hinted at here of a gradual dispersal of this lineage into the hinterland with an accompanying shift in roles from teacher to administrator.

It was not uncommon for the head of a prominent *maṭha* to take over administrative control of the temple complex where the *maṭha* was situated, which meant control over the temple properties too.⁵⁴ In the case of the Andhra Gōḷaki Maṭha, the importance or prestige of the newly acquired positions as *sthānapati* seem to have overshadowed the importance of the monastic affiliation. As a result, not only do *maṭhas* as institutions not figure in the inscriptions of the individuals discussed above (except for Mahādēva), but the Gōḷaki Maṭha itself was thought worthy of mention in only one record. Only once, after the time of Śānta-śiva, does the word 'Gōḷaki' occur—in the 1275 A.D. epigraph of Uttama-śiva (SII V. 199). The absence of the term 'Gōḷaki' as a descriptive designation points to a corresponding

lessening in the significance of the Gōḷaki Maṭha as an institution and a weakening in the strength of its *guru*-disciple bonds.

This de-emphasis on the linkage with the Gōḷaki Maṭha tradition may have been brought about by a second phenomenon which occurred in the course of the expansion of this lineage in Andhra. It is my belief that from the time of Viśvēśvara-śiva onwards, some members of the Andhra Gōḷaki Maṭha school abandoned the ascetic vow and became householders. With the advent of married *gurus*, succession to positions of power would probably have passed on hereditarily, rather than on the basis of spiritual merit or erudition. In this way, the crucial qualification for these Śaiva *gurus* would become their blood relationship with a predecessor, rather than a spiritual connection with the monastic lineage of the Gōḷaki Maṭha.

Before presenting the evidence for such a hypothesis, let me first cite a few examples from other places of a similar shift to the householder status. David Lorenzen draws our attention to an inscription from Beḷagave in 1171 A.D. which refers to the grandson of the renowned Kālāmukha preceptor from Belur and "shows that not all the ascetics of the monastery were celibate."⁵⁵ R.N. Nandi Vāmaśaktidēva and "shows that not all the ascetics of the monastery were celibate."⁵⁵ R.N. Nandi says, "The preceptors who led the Kālāmukha monks of Belur were all married, as a result of which the Belur pontificate became hereditary."⁵⁶ He has based his statement on an inscription of 1136 A.D. from Halebidu which informs us that in the line of Īśānaśakti-panḍita, head of a *maṭha* there, was an Īśānaśakti-bratindram who married a woman called Vāṇī. Their daughter's son by descent (*santati*) and Īśānaśakti-bratindram who married a woman called Vāṇī. Their daughter's son by descent (*santati*) and initiation (*dikṣā*) was Dēvēndra-panḍita. He and his wife, also named Vāṇī, had a son called Kalyāṇaśakti-panḍita.⁵⁷ Some centuries after the Kākatīya period, there is a well known case at Tiruvānaikkā of a Pāsupata *gr̥hastha* being appointed head of the temple, in place of an ascetic who was pontiff of a *maṭha* in addition.⁵⁸ The inscription of 1584 A.D. which records this change gives an elaborate list of reasons why a married man was preferred for the post. However, in this instance control of the *maṭha* was retained by the ascetic.

Returning to the topic of the Gōḷaki Maṭha, there is one solid piece of evidence which upholds the thesis that celibacy was given up by some members of this school. In SII X. 454 of 1282 A.D. from Malkāpuram, Kāśīśvara-śiva not only describes himself as the son of the Rācaguru Vidyā-śiva but also states his mother's name, thus revealing that the relationship with Vidyā-śiva was a real blood tie and not just a spiritual one. Thus, Kāśīśvara-śiva was the actual son of Vidyā-śiva. Vidyā-śiva himself may have been the son or relative of Viśvēśvara-śiva. In the inscription mentioned above, Kāśīśvara-śiva's *gōtra* is specified as Śrī Vatsa, a *gōtra* which figures also in the Malkāpuram Ins. of Viśvēśvara-śiva. There it is said that brahmins of the Śrī Vatsa *gōtra* who came from Viśvēśvara-śiva's native village of Pūrva-grāma in Gauḍa were settled by him in the newly constituted village of Viśvēśvara-Gōḷaki at Malkāpuram. Would he have imported them from so far away, were they not members of his own extended family? If we accept the hypothesis that Viśvēśvara-śiva's own *gōtra* was Śrī Vatsa, then Vidyā-śiva certainly could have been his own son, which would make Kāśīśvara-śiva his grandson and explain how the latter was able to acquire his position at the important Gōḷaki Maṭha centre Malkāpuram. It would also explain Vidyā-śiva's elevation to *rājaguru* by 1282 A.D.

Vidyā-śiva's kinship with Viśvēśvara-śiva is a matter of speculation, but the claims of two other individuals must be given more weight. In one of Paripūrṇa-śiva's inscriptions (ARIE 293 of 1936-37), he calls himself the son of Viśvēśvara-śiva who was the disciple of Dhārma-śiva. Whereas the word denoting the connection between Viśvēśvara-śiva and Dhārma-śiva is *śiṣya*, not a kinship term, Paripūrṇa-śiva uses the word 'son' (*koḍku*) for his own relationship with Viśvēśvara-śiva. In monastic parlance the term 'son' often refers figuratively to a disciple, but Paripūrṇa-śiva also calls Viśvēśvara-śiva his father (*taṇḍri*) in ARIE 294 of 1936-37, which does not have the same figurative meaning as far as I am aware. The term *anna* (elder brother) designating Sadā-śiva must also be taken literally, in my opinion.

In addition to Paripūrṇa-śiva, a second man also asserts his kinship with Viśvēśvara-śiva. This is Narasiṃha-ṛṣi, not a Śaiva ascetic but an accomplished Sanskrit court poet, two of whose compositions

were engraved in rocks near the Kākatīya capital Wāraṅgal during the reign of Pratāparudra.⁵⁹ In one he claims to be the son of the Rājaguru Viśvēśvara-panḍita, in the other simply the son of Viśvēśvara, undoubtedly Viśvēśvara-śiva of the Gōlāki Maṭha.⁶⁰

Taken together, the various bits of data presented above form a fairly convincing case in favour of the argument that some Gōlāki Maṭha preceptor, beginning with Viśvēśvara-śiva, abandoned the celibate life-style and became householders. A corresponding trend was the movement of affiliates of this monastic lineage into positions of power at several temples as *sthānapatis*, where they most probably became entrenched hereditarily. But it is difficult to believe that these development involved all members of this school and we must therefore assume that the Gōlāki Maṭha maintained its institutional base at major temple sites such as Śrīśailam and Tripurāntakam for at least several decades after Śānta-śiva, though clear evidence for this is not forthcoming.

Śrīśailam, one of the twelve *jyōtirliṅgas* of Śiva, has in its time been a focal point for the activities of a number of Śaivite sects such as the Kāpālikas, Siddhas and Kālāmukhas,⁶¹ besides being a Gōlāki Maṭha stronghold in the 13th century. In the beginning of the 14th century, another Śaivite group appears to have captured control of this temple complex and of two of its so-called 'gateways', Umāmahēśvaram (Māhubb Nagar dist.) in the north and Tripurāntakam to the east.⁶² Four inscriptions from these three places—dated between 1312 and 1320 A.D.—reveal the dominance of a body called the "*asamkhyāta mähēśvaras*," under whose direction various new arrangements concerning the conduct of worship were made.⁶³ In the most striking of these records, SII X. 504, the Asamkhyāta Mähēśvaras residing at Śrīśailam extracted a promise from the Arasa maṭha's Īśvara-śiva and the Ārādhyā Pregaḍa(s) that the worship of the deity would be conducted according to the instructions of the chief Asamkhyātas. A list of about 70 villages endowed by devotees in the past and apparently controlled by the Arasa maṭha is appended, the implication being that the resources of these endowments would henceforth be utilised as the Asamkhyāta Mähēśvaras saw fit. As previously mentioned, epigraphical date from Śrīśailam proper is available only from 1312 A.D. onwards, in other words, from one year prior to the above agreement, and it is Parabrahma Sastry's belief that inscriptions prior to this date were deliberately destroyed by the Asamkhyātas,⁶⁴ probably to remove any documentation regarding the intended purpose of the original endowments.

Who were these Asamkhyāta Mähēśvaras? The term '*mähēśvara*' denoting a collective body appears in Tamil records from the Cōla period onwards, as the name of the group of worshippers who supervised temple affairs.⁶⁵ With the addition of the word '*asamkhyāta*', the phrase in its entirety indicates Viraśaiva leanings⁶⁶ and has been interpreted in this way by Parabrahma Sastry who translates it as "the executive body of the Viraśaiva community."⁶⁷ Two elements of the record SII X. 504 discussed above support this identification, the foremost being the designation of the deity Mallikārjuna as "*mahāliṅga-cakravartī*," rather than "*mahādēvara*" or "*dēvara*" as generally found in Kākatīya period epigraphs. Secondly, the word "*ārādhyā*" is used to qualify one or more *pregaḍas*, meaning royal minister or more probably in this case temple official.⁶⁸ According to later Viraśaiva legend, five *ārādhyas* were the original propagators of the faith, each establishing a *maṭha* at a sacred centre.⁶⁹ Among them, the Paṇḍitārādhyā who was based at Śrīśailam must be the same as Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita of the 12th century, one of the famous *Paṇḍita-traya* who are still revered by a certain Telugu community, the Ārādhyas.⁷⁰

Today, the Viraśaivite Liṅgāyats and the Telugu Ārādhyas can be sharply distinguished, the most significant difference being that the Ārādhyas are all brahmins and adhere to Vedic ritualism.⁷¹ But several customs followed by both, particularly that of wearing a *liṅga* on the body,⁷² as well as the fact that certain saints are jointly shared, point to a common origin in the past. The question of what form these sects took in the 13th and 14th centuries can not be answered at present, but the Asamkhyāta Mähēśvaras must have been part of the same broad Śaivite movement, which emphasised *liṅga* worship and was characterised by an intense devotionism. For both Viraśaivas and Ārādhyas, Śrīśailam is an especially sacred spot. Its deity Mallikārjuna was eulogised by Akkamadēvi, the celebrated Viraśaiva saint, in her 12th century *vacanas*.⁷³ A lengthy chapter describing the sacred *kṣētra* of Śrīśailam and

Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita's journey there is included in his biography written in the late 13th century by Palkūriki Sōmanātha.⁷⁴

We can assume that the takeover by the Viraśaiva leaning Asamkhyāta Mähēśvaras was successful for the Kallu, Arasa and Gōlāki *maṭha* vanish from the epigraphical record henceforth, to be replaced by the Bhikṣāvritti *maṭha*, among others. This Viraśaiva establishment was influential at Śrīśailam during the Rēḍḍi and Vijayanagara periods and had a branch at Tripurāntakam as well. Epigraphic references to this *maṭha* and its pontiffs (whose names all include the word "*bhikṣāvritti*") start in 1385 A.D. at Tripurāntakam and refer to Bhikṣāvritti Śiddhayadēvayya as the devotee of the deity at Tripurāntakam and the chief of the great *mahants* at Kailāsa, i.e., Śrīśailam.⁷⁵ This means that the *maṭha* must have been set up at Śrīśailam also, although the earliest reference to it from that site seems to be the copperplate grant of Virupākṣa dated in 1446 A.D.⁷⁶

By the beginning of the 14th century, as I have shown, the Andhra Gōlāki school ceased to be a significant force. Yet, curiously enough, an echo of its former greatness lived on in the name of the Viraśaiva monastery, Bhikṣāvritti. The Gōlāki Maṭha was known by no other name in Andhra, but in Tamilnadu it also went by the names Bhikṣā-maṭha (*santāna*) and Lakṣādhyaṇi-santāna.⁷⁷ These last two names have been translated by Venkatarāmanayya and M. Somasekhara Sarma as "the descendants of gurus supported by a monastery endowed with a *bhikṣhā* or maintenance gift or with the lakh-gift,"⁷⁸ alluding to the original donation by Kalācuri king Yuvarāja which enabled Sadbhāva-śambhu to establish the (first) Gōlāki Maṭha, according to the Malkāpuram Ins. This endowment of three lakh villages is actually labelled "*bhikṣā*" in line 61 of that Sanskrit record and the Telugu word *vritti* (from Sanskrit *vr̥tti*) shares the same meaning, i.e., subsistence grant.

Is it mere coincidence that a Viraśaiva establishment bears a name reminiscent of the Gōlāki Maṭha? One might brush it off as such, were it not for another strange occurrence: the Śrīśailam temple *kaifiyat* attributes a *birudāvali* (list of epithets) to a Bhikṣāvritti member called Śānta Liṅgāyā which is almost exactly the same as that of Śānta-śiva, the Abhinava Gōlāki Maṭha pontiff in the mid-13th century. Venkatarāmanayya equates this Śānta Liṅgāyā which the Kumāra Liṅgāyā who was the donor of a gift recorded in a copperplate grant of 1506 A.D.⁷⁹ The Śrīśailam Kaifiyat, written in 1810 A.D., cites the following *birudāvali* for Bhikṣāvritti Śānta Liṅgāyā:⁸⁰

*Svasti śrī tribhuvan=aika-tri-takṣa-grāma-Gōlāka-mahāmaṭhasya
sāmraṇya-paṭṭa-bhadra-śrīmad-rājaguru-carāṇa-sarasīruha-bhūṣita-
mastakulu śrī-Tripurāntakadēva-divya-śrīpāda-padm=ārādhakul=aina
Śrīparvatāmala-Basava-Gōlāka-maṭhamu śrīmatu-nijaguru-Śānta-pūrva-dēśikulu.*

This closely resembles Śānta-śiva's *birudāvali* as given in IAP-CP. 142. The only portions which differ slightly read as below:

- (1) *tribhuvan=aika-tilaka-tri-lakṣa-grāma-Gōlāki-mahāmaṭha-sāmraṇya-paṭṭa-baddha*
- (2) *Śrīparvatamu-Abhinava-Gōlāki-maṭhamu*

Since both individuals bear the personal name Śānta, this list of epithets could be used by Bhikṣāvritti Śānta Liṅgāyā also, after cleverly replacing the word 'Abhinava' with 'Basava'.

Whether these epithets were applied to Śānta Liṅgāyā in actual fact or whether they were merely attributed to him by the composer of the *kaifiyat*, the striking aspect of the matter is that no epigraphical record containing these titles of the Gōlāki Maṭha's Śānta-śiva is extant at Śrīśailam and only one remains from Tripurāntakam (SII X. 400). The appearance of this *birudāvali*, at such a late date, can only be viewed as a testimony to the impact on Andhra religion and society of the Gōlāki Maṭha school whose memory lingered on for centuries.

Introduced into Andhra by Dharma-śiva who emigrated from the Kalacuri realm sometime before 1234 A.D., the Gōlāki Maṭha reached its highest level of patronage between c. 1250 to 1260 A.D. during the time of Viśvēśvara-śiva, *rājaguru* to the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. In addition to establishing

new religious centres at places like Malkāpuram, the Gōlaki Maṭha also built *maṭhas* at some of the most revered sites of the period: Kālēśvaram, Mantrakuṭa, Ēlēśvaram, Tripurāntakam and Śrīśailam. A third prominent adherent of the Gōlaki Maṭha was Śānta-śiva, disciple of Viśvēśvara-śiva, who headed the *maṭhas* at the latter two centres. After his time, no Gōlaki Maṭha member is known for a fact to have been active at either Śrīśailam or Tripurāntakam and even the name of the Gōlaki Maṭha almost vanishes from view, in Andhra. Those individuals who can be associated with the Gōlaki Maṭha figure in the records as administrators of temples, not as pontiffs of *maṭhas*. I have suggested that one factor in the decline of the Andhra Gōlaki Maṭha could have been the forsaking of the celibate vow on the part of some members, who became hereditary *sthānapatis* of minor temples. A second, and possibly more significant factor, was the rise in popularity of a different sort of Śaivism, represented by the Aṣaṃkhyāta Māhēśvaras and probably aligned with Virāśaivism, which successfully wrested control of the major inland temple complexes soon after the beginning of the 14th century. Yet, in its short period of dominance, the Gōlaki Maṭha succeeded in establishing itself firmly enough in the Andhra country that traces of its former institutional greatness survived. It must, as a corollary, have exerted a strong influence on philosophical and ritual developments in its heyday; hence, the Gōlaki Maṭha or Śaiva Siddhānta impact should not be overlooked in any assessment of the formative elements in the medieval Śaivism of Andhra and Karnataka.

ABBREVIATIONS

APRE	Andhra Pradesh (Government) Report on Epigraphy
ARIE	Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy
HAS	Hyderabad Archaeological Series
IAP-CP	Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Cuddapah Dist., Vol. 1
IAP-KN	Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Karimnagar District
IAP-WG	Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Warangal District
JAHR	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
NDI	Nellore District Inscriptions
SII	South Indian Inscriptions

REFERENCES

1. Notably V.S. Pathak, *History of Saiva Cults in Northern India* (Allahabad: Abinash Prakashan, 1980), pp. 22 and 46-50 and Pranabāranda Jash, *History of Śaivism* (Calcutta: Ray and Chaudhury, 1974), pp. 21 and 24.
2. V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum IV: Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era* (Ootacamund: Govt. Epigraphist for India, (1955), pp. clvii-clix; and R.K. Sharma, *The Kalachuris and Their Times* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1980), p. 259.
3. The Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasimha (CII IV. 64) in particular and also the Chandreh Stone Ins. of Prabōdhaśiva (CII IV. 44) and the Gurgi Stone Ins. of Kōkalladēva II (CII IV. 46), if the identity of the Prabhāva-śiva of these records with the Sadbhāva-śambhu of the Malkāpuram Ins. is accepted as Pathak suggests (pp. 46-47). D.C. Sircar has equated the Vāma-śambhu of the latter record with the Vāmadēva mentioned in many Tripurī Kalacurī inscriptions from the mid-11th century onwards (EI XXX, pp. 46-51).
4. B.G.L. Swamy, "The Gōlaki School of Śaivism in the Tamil Country," *Journal of Indian History*, LIII, Pt. 2 (Aug. 1975), p. 181.
5. Exceptions are two articles—Nidaduvolu Sundaresvara Rao, "Gōlaki Maṭhamulu—Āndhradēśa," *Bharati* LIV (1977), no. 10, pp. 56-65 and no. 11, pp. 19-35 and B.G.L. Swamy, *op. cit.* In addition, the Andhra Gōlaki Maṭha is discussed on pp. 706-710 of the chapter on the Kākatiyas by N. Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sarma in G. Yazdani ed., *Early History of the Deccan*

- (OUP, 1960) and on pp. 275-78 of P.V. Parabrahma Sastry's *The Kākatiyas of Warangal* (Hyderabad: Govt. of A.P., 1978).
6. In chronological order: APRE 197 of 1965; SII IV. 1056; ARIE 293 of 1936-37; IAP-WG. 65; SII X. 315; ARIE 294 of 1936-37; ARIE 301 of 1936-37; SII X. 338; SII X. 340; SII X. 345; NDI Darsi 25; NDI Darsi 28; ARIE 301 of 1930-31; ARIE 50 of 1941-42; IAP-CP. 142; ARIE 89 of 1958-59; ARIE 94 of 1958-59; ARIE 145 of 1954-55; SII X. 395; ARIE 289 of 1930-31; ARIE 4 of 1955-56; SII X. 399; ARIE 40 of 1942-43; SII X. 400; ARIE 26 of 1970-71; NDI Darsi 74; ARIE 307 of 1936-37; SII V. 129; SII X. 452; SII X. 453; SII X. 454; SII X. 396; ARIE 320 of 1937-38; ARIE 321 of 1937-38; ARIE 322 of 1937-38; ARIE 22 of 1942-43; ARIE 323 of 1937-38; IAP-CP. 146; SII X. 388; ARIE 323 of 1905. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, for kindly giving me access to many unpublished inscriptions, without which this paper would not have been possible. I am also indebted to Dr. S.S. Ramacandra Murthy (Oriental Research Institute, Sri Venkatesvara University) for so generously and patiently imparting to me some understanding of Telugu inscriptions.
 7. Swamy has been more discriminating than Sundaresvara Rao (p. 62 of *Bharati* LIV no. 10 and pp. 19-21 of no. 11) but exhibits this tendency in pp. 168-70 of his article previously cited.
 8. APRE 244 of 1966 (1293 A.D.) from Lingala, Kurnool dist., records a land grant to the deity Mallikārjuna of Śrīparvata in care of a Parama-śivārādhyulu. The name of this *guru* is read as Parama-śivācārya by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist in their summary of the same inscription in ARIE 55 of 1943-44. In both readings Parama-śiva is associated with the Kālmaṭha. SII X. 504 (1313 A.D.) from Srisailam mentions Śvara-śivācārya of the Arasa Maṭha. Neither of these *maṭhas* seems to be connected with Gōlaki Maṭha. In addition to the title 'ācārya', the Gōlaki Maṭha members also used the titles 'dēśika', 'gurudēvara' and 'mahāmuni'.
 9. Sundaresvara Rao includes the Nanda-śiva appearing in SII X. 432 (*op. cit.*, no. 10, p. 60) as a member of the Gōlaki lineage but the inscription clearly states that he was a *pūjari* at the Tripurāntakam temple and thus he could not have been a member. Nanda-śiva also figures in SII X. 465.
 10. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, "The Golaki Matha," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* XIII (1927), pp. 138 and 143; Venkataramanayya & Somasekhara Sarma, pp. 709 n. 2 & 710; Parabrahma Sastry, p. 275; T.V. Mahalingam, "A Family of Pāsupata Grhastas at Jambukēśvaram" in *Journal of Oriental Research Madras* XXV, p. 79. The inscription of 1584 A.D. (ARIE 135 of 1936-37) which forms the main subject of the last mentioned article is clearly a Pāsupata record. Mahalingam also discusses a much earlier inscription (No. 196 of *Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State*) involving the same Akhilanāyaki tirumadam of Tiruvānaikkā or Jambukēśvaram which he assumes is also Pāsupata. This second record mentions a Jiyar Viśvēśvara-śiva whom Mahalingam, on rather shaky grounds, identifies with the Viśvēśvara-śiva of the Malkāpuram Ins. Mahalingam thus arrives at the conclusion that the Gōlaki Maṭha owed its allegiance to the Pāsupata sect.
 11. David Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* (New Delhi: Thomson Press, 1972), p. 173.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-172; R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1973), Chaps. V and VI and "Origin and Nature of Śaivaite Monasticism: The Case of the Kālāmukhas" in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha eds., *Indian Society: Historical Probing* (New Delhi, 1974), pp. 190-201.
 13. EI XXIII, pp. 161-170.
 14. IAP-WG. 35=HAS XIII. 12 and IAP-WG. 15=HAS XIII. 7.
 15. IAP-WG. 47=HAS XIII. 15.
 16. Lorenzen, chapt. 1; Pathak, p. 3; Mirashi, p. clix.
 17. *Madhumatī dhāma saiddhāntikānām* in line 5 of CII IV. 46.
 18. Lorenzen, pp. 107-110.
 19. Pathak, pp. 14 and 42.
 20. Jash, p. 18; B.S.L. Hanumanta Rao, *Religion in Andhra* (Guntur; Tripurasundari, 1973), pp. 292-93.

21. S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy Vol. V: The Southern Schools of Śaivism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), pp. 18-19 and 154-55.
22. Swamy, p. 205.
23. It is not clear whether Yuvarāja I or II is meant, although Pathak believes that it was Yuvarāja I (pp. 46-47). According to Mirashi, the former ruled c. 914 to 945 A.D. while the latter ruled for a short period from c. 980 A.D. onwards (pp. lxxviii and lxxxvii-lxxxviii).
24. SII X. 338 and 400; IAP-CP. 142; ARIE 289 of 1930-31; and ARIE 50 of 1940-41.
25. CII IV. 63, 64, 70 and 72.
26. *Tripurī-pura-var = ādhīśvaraiḥ samabhyarcita-pāda*, SII X. 340.
27. Mirashi, pp. cvii-cviii.
28. My reading of this inscription differs from that of the editor.
29. SII X. 338, 340, 345, 400; NDI Darsi 25, 28 and 74.
30. No. 196, *Inscriptions in the Pudukottai State*, transl. by K.R. Srinivasa Aiyar, 1941.
31. T.V. Mahalingam, "The Pāsupatas in South India," JIH XXVIII (1949), p. 48. See also note 10 above.
32. I am following the reading of this inscription as given in the transcript of ARIE 89 of 1958-59. It differs from the reading in IAP-KN. 32 in identifying the donor as Viśvēśvara-śiva, son (āmajā) of Dharma-śiva, and in specifying that a Vimalēśvara temple was built.
33. Parabrahma Sastry, p. 118.
34. *śivapurī viśrāṇana-ślāghinī*, Malkapuram Ins.=SII X. 395.
35. Khandavalli Lakshiranjana ed., *Siddhēśvara Caritramu*, Hyderabad: Andhra Racayitala Sanghamu, 1960; *Pratāparudra Caritramu*, Hyderabad: A.P. Sahitya Akademi, 1984.
36. Lakshmiranjana, p. lv; *Pratāparudra Caritramu*, pp. 29-30 and 49.
37. "History of Andhra Country 1000 A.D.-1500 A.D., Subsidiary Dynasties", JAHRS XXI, p. 75.
38. An undated inscription issued by Kākatiya Gaṇapati also records the grant of this same village.
39. I thank Mr. Mukunda Rao, Chief Epigraphical Officer, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of A.P., for providing me with a transcript of this inscription and of APRE 197 of 1965.
40. *śiva-līṅga-maṭha-vidyā-maṇḍapa-adhyayana-suśrūṣaka-brāhmaṇa-atithi-abhyāgata-pūjārttamugānu*.
41. Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, ASI and Mr. S. Nagarjuna, Office of the Chief Epigraphist, have kindly read the *estampage* of this inscription for me. The donor's name is lost but the recipient was Śānta-śiva, called the *nijaguru* of the donor and a *śiva-līṅga-maṭha-vidyā-maṇḍapa* is mentioned.
42. The donor is a Kāyastha chief and since the date is given as the 63rd year of Gaṇapati's reign, he can be no other than Jannigadēva. Although the record is damaged, one can easily make out that the Gōḷaki Maṭha guru donee was Śānta-śiva. The words "*maṭha-vidyā...dhyana...brāhmaṇa*" can be distinguished, undoubtedly representing the same phrase as in note 40 above, from IAP-CP. 140 & 140.
43. SII X. 388.
44. The Malkāpuram Ins. states that Kākatiya Gaṇapati gave one village for a *satra* to Viśvēśvara-śiva who also set up a *satra* at Malkāpuram.
45. Parabrahma Sastry, p. 279.
46. Pushpagiri in Cuddapah district has often been included among the Andhra sites where the Gōḷaki Maṭha was established. The reason for this appears to be the existence of a heavily damaged inscription in Tamil from the Indranāthaswāmi temple which refers to the Gōḷaki Maṭha. This inscription (ARIE 323 of 1905) is not dated nor are any other details provided in the summary. Bearing in mind the fact that none of the other inscriptions of the relevant period from this site refer to Gōḷaki Maṭha, I do not believe there are sufficient grounds for asserting Gōḷaki Maṭha presence at Pushpagiri. Two Śaiva ascetics, Īśāna-guru and Sōma-śiva, associated with Pushpagiri in inscriptions found elsewhere likewise can not be affiliated with the Gōḷaki Maṭha without further evidence. Several other Śaiva gurus may possibly be associated with Gōḷaki Maṭha. At Ēlēśvaram,

- where Viśvēśvara-śiva is known to have erected a *maṭha* sometime before 1261 A.D., we get records referring to Bhāvabrahma-gurudēvara in 1250 A.D. (*Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions* IV. 30) and to Dakṣiṇamurti=gurudēvara c. 1271 A.D. (APRE 349 of 1964). From Sōmaśila in Mahbubnagar district, which may be the same place as the Uttara-sōmaśilā where Viśvēśvara-śiva consecrated a *līṅga* in his own name, we have two inscriptions involving a Śaṅkara-śivācārya, the son of the Rācaguru Prasanna-śivācārya, dated 1295 A.D. (ARIE 37 of 1976-77) and 1297 A.D. (APRE 255 of 1966). An Aghōra-śivācārya appears in a 1313 A.D. inscription from Wāraṅgal as the head of the Sahasralīṅga Gaṇapati temple (IAP-WG. 89=HAS XIII. 16).
47. SII X. 465 (1290 A.D.) and also NDI Darsi 1 from Aluvulapāḍu (c. 1272 A.D.); ARIE 188 of 1905 (c. 1271 A.D.) and SII X. 428 (c. 1270 A.D.); SII X. 502 (1312 A.D.) respectively.
48. Sundaresvara Rao, *Bharati* no. 10, p. 60.
49. EI XXVII. 35.
50. Śilā-maṭha in IAP-WG. 15=HAS 13.7 and Kaḷmaṭha in APRE 244 of 1966=ARIE 55 of 1943-44 (see note 8 above).
51. SII X. 404.
52. SII X. 503 and 504; ARIE 41 of 1915.
53. See also SII X. 452.
54. R.C. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*, pp. 96 and 99; S. Gurumurthy, *Education in South India* (Madras: New Era, 1979), pp. 16 and 24.
55. p. 127—in reference to *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII Sk. 150.
56. "Origin and Nature of Śaivaite Monasticism: The Case of the Kālāmukhas," p. 193.
57. EC V. Belur 117.
58. T.V. Mahalingam, "A Family of Pāsupata Gṛhastas at Jambukēśvaram," discusses the inscription ARIE 135 of 1936-37.
59. IAP-WG. 99 and 100. Other inscriptions mentioning him are IAP-WG. 95-98.
60. Parabrahma Sastry, *The Kākatiyas*, p. 276.
61. Lorenzen, p. 51; Parabrahma Sastry, *Śrīśailam, Its History and Cult* (Hyderabad, 1982), pp. 30-36.
62. In the fourfold classification commonly found in the Kākatiya period inscriptions, the western gateway of Śrīparvata was Alampur and the southern Siddhavaṭam. At times Pushpagiri is alternatively termed the southern gateway.
63. SII X. 504 (1313 A.D.) & ARIE 41 of 1915 (1315 A.D.) from Śrīśailam; HAS XIX Mn. 38 (1320 A.D.) from Umāmahēśvaram; SII X. 502 (1312 A.D.) from Tripurantakam.
64. *Śrīśailam, Its History and Cult*, p. 17.
65. B.K. Pandeya, *Temple Economy Under the Cōḷas* (New Delhi: Bahri Publications, 1984), p. 91.
66. P.B. Desai, *Basavēśvara and His Times* (Dhārwar: Kannada Research Institute, 1968), p. 124.
67. *Śrīśailam, Its History and Cult*, p. 34.
68. An example of "*pregaḍa*" used in the meaning of temple official is found in ARIE 41 of 1915 (1315 A.D.) from Śrīśailam which records an agreement between the Asaṃkhyāta Māhēśvaras on the one hand and the *gurudēvaras* and *pregaḍas* of Kalu maṭha and Arsi maṭha on the other hand, about the conduct of worship and festivals.
69. P.B. Desai, pp. 327-28.
70. N. Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sarma, pp. 710-11.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 711.
72. They both also offer all food first to the *līṅga* before eating and thus will not eat temple *prāsāda* as it has been offered already. Neither observe the *śrāddha* ceremony but replace it with one called *ārādhana*. See Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (reprint, Delhi: Cosmo Publication, 1975) under "Ārādhya" and "Līṅgāyat".
73. K. Ishwaran, *Religion and Society among the Lingayats of South India* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1983), pp. 58-59.
74. M. Rama Rao, *The Temples of Śrīśailam* (Hyderabad: Govt. of A.P., 1969), pp. 4-5.

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75. SII XVI. 7. Śrīśailam is also equated with Kailāsa in SII X. 504 (1313 A.D.) from Śrīśailam itself.
76. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Univ. of Madras, 1919), pp. 67-68.
77. See particularly ARIE 1923-24 part II, p. 114 which describes Nos. 193, 209, 211 and 213. of 1924, all 16th century records from Piranmadai, Tiruppur taluk, Ramnad district. All three terms are used in the above but B.G.L. Swamy believes that the Bhikṣā-maṭha or Lakṣādhyāyi-santāna was a sublineage within the Gōḷaki school (pp. 168-81).
78. p. 708.
79. *Epigraphia Andhrica* I, p. 47.
80. P. Sitapati ed., *Śrīśaila Dēvālaya Kaiḥiyatu part 2* (Hyderabad; Govt. of A.P., 1982), p. 9.